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Iranian Miscellanies.—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Aberdeen, Scotland.

a) On the Aramaic Version of the Behistān Inscriptions.

THE value of the fragments of the Aramaic version of the Behistān inscriptions for solving some of the problems in the interpretation of these texts has recently been made evident by Tolman's identification of the Old Persian month Garmapada with Tammuz.¹ These same fragments conclusively clear up two of the most difficult words in all Old Persian literature. The passage Bh. i, 65, the text of which has been definitely settled by Jackson² and by King and Thompson,³ reads as follows: *abičariš gaiḡāmčā māniyamčā viḡabiščā*. The principal translations of these words, since this establishment of the text, are: Bartholomae, "Weideland (?), (und) fahrende Habe, (und) liegende Habe, (und) (?)"⁴; Justi, "Volksversammlungen, Gehöfte, Hauskomplexe, (einzelne) Häuser";⁵ King and Thompson, "the pasture-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses";⁶ Tolman, "the revenue (?) and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences";⁷ Weißbach and Bang, "das Weideland (?), die Viehherden und die Wohnungen, und zwar in den Häusern";⁸ Hoffmann-Kutschke, "die Zusammenkünfte des Volkes, die Gehöfte sowohl wie die Hauskomplexe wie die (einzelnen) Klänen".⁹

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, xxxii, 444 f.

² *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiv, 84 f., *Persia Past and Present*, p. 196 f. ³ *Inscription of Darius . . . at Behistūn*, p. 14.

⁴ *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 89, 478, 1168, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227 f.

⁵ *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii, Anzeiger, pp. 105—108, reading *abāčariš* and *viḡbiš* (!). ⁶ *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 9, 64 f., 85, 116, 125 f.

⁸ *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. xv; similarly Weißbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 21, who omits the query and translates *māniyam* by "Wohnung(en)"; like Justi, he reads *viḡbiš*.

⁹ *Altpersische Keilinschriften . . . am Berge Bagistān*, pp. 13, 51 f., reading *abičiriš* (!).

The Babylonian version for this passage is lacking, nor do the two New Susian words preserved as the equivalents of *gaiḇām* and *māniyam*, the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα *aš* and *kurtas* respectively, give any assistance. Fortunately, the Aramaic version contains the equivalents for *māniyamčā viḇabiščā*—נכסיהם וּבתיהם, “their wealth and their houses”.¹ The word נכס—a *plurale tantum*, like its Syriac equivalent, ܢܚܫܐ—occurs seven times in the Old Testament, the Septuagint rendering being χρήματα in Joshua xxii, 8, II Chronicles i, 11 f., ὑπάρχοντα in Ezra vi, 8, Ecclesiastes v, 18, vi, 2, and ξημία τοῦ βίου in Ezra vii, 26.² This term denotes material wealth, as in the mention of “the king’s goods, even the tribute beyond the river” (Ezra vi, 8), and in Joshua xxii, 8, נכסים, “wealth”, is expressly distinguished from מִקְנֵה, “cattle”, just as *gaiḇām* and *māniyam* are contrasted in Bh. i, 65. As to the etymology of *māniya-*, its translation by נכסי suggests that it is to be connected with Sanskrit *mānya-*, “honourable, venerable”.

Turning to the second equation—*viḇabiš*: בתיהם—we are confronted by some difficulty. So far as the syntax is concerned, I see no reason to depart from the view which I formerly expressed—although incorrectly reading *viḇabiš*—that the form is an instrumental neuter plural, used with accusativial force.³ As to the form, I have been able to make no advance over my suggestion in a letter to Professor Tolman, incorporated by him in his *Lexicon*,⁴ that *viḇabiš* is from the stem *viḇan-*, and is to be compared with Avesta *vīsan-*, “householder”. As in Bartholomae’s similar suggestion⁵ to explain the difficult Old Persian word *viḇibiš* in Dar. Pers. d, 14, 22, 24, from a stem *viḇin-*, I feel the difficulty of meaning, since *-an-* normally forms nouns denoting a part of the body or *nomina agentis*,⁶ rather than words of relationship to something. Despite this, I see at present no alternative but to repeat the suggestion to which I have already referred, that *viḇabiš* means “things

¹ Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 61 A. P. 13447 c, Nr. 1 (Vs), p. 91.

² See, further, Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 647.

³ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiii, 58 f.

⁴ P. 126.

⁵ *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227.

⁶ Brugmann, *Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*, p. 332, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II², i, 292—312.

relating to the house, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ ". It may be noted, in this connexion, that the Aramaic, being rendered from the Babylonian rather than from either of the other two versions,¹ does not invariably represent exactly the Old Persian text.²

The translation of the Old Persian passage *abičariš gaiθāmčā māniyamčā viθabiščā* would accordingly be, "the pasturage, and the live stock, and the wealth, and the home possessions".

There is in these Aramaic fragments a very remarkable passage which has no parallel in any of the other versions of the Behistān inscriptions. This passage, which begins with Old Persian Bh. iv, 37 (Babylonian, 97; New Susian, iii, 63), is as follows:³

... [אנ]ת מלך זי אחרי תהוו זי יכרב
 ... [מן כרבנ שניאן אוהר ע] [זי יכרב
 ... [הודע איך זי עבד אנת וא] [הלכתך
 ... [כך יאמר שמע זי פרתר יאמר
 ... [בר זי מסכן יעבר וך חזי אף קדמתך
 ... [מוכך

"Thou who shalt be king after me,⁴ the man who lieth,

"... of lies⁵ beware mightily ... who lieth.

"... make known how thou hast been created,⁶ and how hath been thy going.

"... saith, Hear what he saith before.⁷

¹ Ungnad, p. 83.

² An excellent instance of such divergence is the Aramaic rendering of Old Persian *ha^gmatā paraitā*, "having assembled, they went" (for the form see Bartholomae, *Grundriß*, I, i, 220 f., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 501), in Bh. ii, 43, 52, 58, by *אחכנשו אולו*, "they assembled, they went", corresponding to Babylonian *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku*² or *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku*².

³ Ungnad, 67, P. 13447b (Vs.), p. 90. For a slightly different rendering see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüd. Militärkolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 197.

⁴ This use of אחרי substantiates the suggestion of Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 77) that $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎡𐎹}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎡𐎹}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎡𐎹}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎡𐎹}}$ in Bh. iv, 37, 68, 87, should be read *apara^hma^h* instead of *aparam*; cf. also *arkī^a* (Bab. 105) as the equivalent of *apara^hma^h* (Old Persian iv, 68).

⁵ Cf. the Babylonian plural *paršātu* as the equivalent of the Old Persian *drauga*, "lie" (Bab. Bh. 14 = Old Pers. Bh. i, 34).

⁶ Cf. the "making" of the earth, etc., and the "making" of Darius, etc., to be king in Dar. Pers. d, 2 f. (*adadā*), NR a, 1—6, Xerx. Pers. a, 1—4, b, 1—7, etc. (*adā*, *akunaš*)?

⁷ The word פרתר represents Old Persian **fratarā*, "prior" (see Ungnad, p. 2, note to line 5).

"... who maketh alms, that man hath also been seen before thee.
 "... good unto thee," etc.

b) A New Fragment of the Avesta.

In Manakji Rustamji Unvāla's lithographed edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār, to which more particular reference will be made below, there are a large number of citations from the Avesta, including Westergaard's Fragment 4 (p. 179, l. 15—p. 180, l. 10),¹ but all these, excepting one, are taken from the Avesta as already known. This one exception, which may be considered a new fragment, and as adding one word to the Avesta vocabulary, occurs twice in the *Rivāyats*: first, in a *Rivāyat* of Dastūr Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn Sanjāna, who flourished in the seventeenth century (p. 39, l. 14—p. 40, l. 8); and, second, in a response of the Persian dastūrs to a letter of Barzū b. Qavām-ad-Dīn b. Kaikubād b. Ormazdyār, written in 1015 A. Y. (p. 431, l. 19—p. 432, l. 10).² The variants of the two passages are unimportant; the text, according to the first occurrence, with the translation, runs thus: *ahurəm mazdām raēvantəm xʰarənanhvantəm yazamaide. aməšāspəntā huxšaθrā hūdānhō yazamaide. rašnūm razištəm yazamaide. arəstātəmča frādat-gaēθəm varədat-gaēθəm yazamaide. ərəzuxdəm vācīm yaθ frādat-gaēθəm yazamaide. arəstātəm frādat-gaēθəm yazamaide. gaerīm uši-darənəm mazdadātəm ašaʰāθrəm yazatəm yazamaide. ašānəm vanhēš sūrā spəntā fravšyō yazamaide. vīspehe a[ša]vana yazata yazamaide. ušehenem paiti-ratūm bərəzīm, namānīmča paiti-ratūm yenhe hātəm*; "Ahura Mazda, radiant, glorious, we worship; the Aməša Spəntas, rightly ruling, fair of form, we worship; Rašnu, most righteous, we worship; and Arštāt, furthering living creatures, increasing living creatures, we worship; the rightly spoken prayer, furthering living creatures, we worship; Arštāt, furthering living creatures, we worship; the mountain Ušidarəna, created by Mazda, the happy abode of Aša, the yazad, we worship; the good, mighty, holy fravašis of the righteous we worship; every righteous yazad we worship; Ušahina, the counter-ratu; Bərəjya and Nmānya, the counter-ratu; yenhē-hātəm."

¹ On this fragment see Haas, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 181—187.

² Rosenberg, *Notices de littérature persie*, pp. 43, 67; on Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn see West, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 123.

In this fragment the occurrence of the term *paiti-ratu*-, "counter-ratu", which seems to be found nowhere else in Avesta literature thus far known, is noteworthy. Ušahina, Bərəjya, and Nmānya are frequently mentioned together as *ašahe ratu*,¹ and the question arises whether *paiti-ratu*- is synonymous with the ordinary *ratu*-, or whether it bears some special technical meaning.

c) The Iranian Name בנִדְאָנָא.

In the last volume of this *Journal* (pp. 434—438) Professor Montgomery discusses a magical bowl-text which contains the words שְׁמַחֲזִיא מְרִיא בְּנִדְאָנָא, "Šamḥizâ, the lord Bagdânâ". As Professor Moore suggested to him, this Šamḥizâ is obviously the fallen angel Semyaza of the Book of Enoch,² and it is equally evident that בְּנִדְאָנָא is equivalent to שְׁמַחֲזִיא. The fallen angel שְׁמַחֲזִיא is frequently mentioned in post-Biblical Hebrew,³ and his name means, according to Schwab,⁴ "nom du visionnaire". As שְׁמַחֲזִיא is composed of שֵׁם, "name", and חֲזִיא, "seer", so בְּנִדְאָנָא is composed of בִּג, "God", and נִדְאָנָא (נִדְאָנָא), which is, I think, represented by Modern Persian دانـ, "knowing" (Pahlavi *dānak), or else by دانا, "learned, wise" (Pahlavi dānāk). If בִּג is equivalent to שֵׁם, the latter is a paraphrase of the Ineffable Name.⁵ The Iranian appellation בְּנִדְאָנָא means "God-knowing", and I suggest that the Semitic appellative שְׁמַחֲזִיא should be translated "he who sees the Name"⁶ rather than "name of him who sees". I am, of course, aware that שְׁמַחֲזִיא scarcely describes the character of the fallen angel, but it was doubtless very appropriate before he fell and wedded one of the "daughters of men".

¹ E. g. *Yasna* i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; vi, 6; xxii, 9; *Gāh* v, 1, 5f.; *Srōš Bāz* 1.

² Enoch vi ff.; see Beer *ad loc.*, in his translation in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ii, 217 ff.; Barton, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxi, 165, explains Semyaza as "apparently the Heb. *shem'az*, 'my name is mighty'."

³ See Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, ii, 492, and *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv, 573; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., p. 1594; for the legends especially Grünbaum, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxi, 225—248.

⁴ *Vocabulaire de l'angélologie*, p. 256.

⁵ Cf. Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberverwesen*, p. 117 ff.; see also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 162—165, xi, 262—264.

⁶ I reached this conclusion before I knew the similar view of Nathaniel Schmidt, *Harper Memorial Volume*, ii, 343f.: "Semyaza = שְׁמַח חֲזִיא, 'he sees the Name, i. e. God.' or שְׁמִיא חֲזִיא, 'he surveys the heavens', as he reveals 'the revolution of the world'."

d) Parsī-Persian Omen Calendars.

I recently published in this *Journal* (xxx, 436—442) and in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (pp. 454—464) two studies on Parsī-Persian omen-lists: one on the *Burj-Nāmah*, copied for me on 29 June, 1909, by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana from a manuscript in the Library of the University of Bombay (BU 29); and the other on two brief *maṭnavīs* edited by Salemann in *Travaux du III^{me} Congrès des Orientalistes*, ii, 497 f. It was then unknown to me that another version of the *Burj-Nāmah*, differing in slight details, had been lithographed by Manakji Rustamji Unvāla in his edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ii, 193 f.). This work has not yet been published, but has been exhaustively analysed by Rosenberg, in his *Notices de littérature persie*. Through the kindness of the editor and of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, I have received proof-sheets of the volume, and since the readings are better, it seems to me advisable to re-edit the *Burj-Nāmah* from it, particularly as my former translation contained a number of errors, one of which—the rendering of وزن کودی (ll. 10, 23) by “boy and woman” instead of “child and wife” (though both are equally possible)—led me unjustly to criticise the moral tone of the poem. I also take this opportunity to correct a few minor errors in the two *maṭnavīs* on which I commented in the *Hoshang Volume*.

The text and translation of the *Burj-Nāmah*, according to Unvāla's edition, together with Dastur Sanjana's variant readings, are as follows:

بنام ایند مهربان دادگر
 حکایت در باب دیدن ماه نو اندرون هر یک برج که میاید
 زطاف خداوند روزپرسان
 بگویم زهر ماه نو من تو دان¹
 زبرج حمد چون به بینی تو ماه
 بکن اندر آن دم بآتش نگاه
 که آن ماه کارت بود خوبتر
 زگفتار دانا² کنون درنگر
 هم از ثور بنگر به بینی کاورا
 که آن ماه بهتر بود مر ترا
 بکن اندر آن دم³ بزاهد نگاه
 چو در برج جوزا به بینی تو ماه⁵
 بپرهیز از کور واورا مبین
 که باشدت آن ماه نیکوترین
 چو در برج خرجنگ بینی قمر
 زگفت حکیم این تو بشنو خبر

¹ BU 29, میتوان.² BU, زگفتار دان.³ BU, در آن وقت کن تو.

دگر سبزه¹ خوب یا اوروران
 تو در آسمان کن زمانی نگاه
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار
 مضمون او بشنو از² من چنان
 که غمگین نکردی تو خود باوجود
 که خوشحال کردی در آن ماه نوست
 در آینه وزر در آن دم بگر
 هم از برج عقرب بگویم تو دان³
 جوان مرد باشد نه کور و نه کر
 که آن مه به نیکی رسد خود بسر
 همانکه نگه کن ابا سیم وزر
 بپرهیز تا خود شوی شادمان
 اشیم و هو⁴ برخوان همانکه سه ره
 که باشی در آن مه بسی شادمان
 ایثا اهو ویر⁵ میخوان تو اینها شنو
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار
 بلعل و جواهر کن انکه نگاه
 بودی شاد و نبود ترا خود زیان
 که باشد نگه دار پروردگار
 در آن دم نظر کن باب روان
 زبرج اسد چون به بینی تو ماه
 بخواه حاجت از پاک پروردگار
 چو در برج خوشه به بینی تو دان
 مبین تو چنان رو دگر کسی زدود
 بخوان ذکر یزدان بصدق و² درست
 چو در برج میزان به بینی قمر
 بخواه حاجت از کردگار جهان
 تو بنگر ایا مرد نیکو⁴ نظر
 مبین چیز مکروه ای نامور
 چو در برج قوس اندر آید قمر
 مبین روی بیمار را آن زمان
 زبرج جدی چون به بینی تو مه
 تو منگر ز بیمار و هم کودکان
 چو در دل و⁶ بینی همی ماه نو
 بخواه حاجت از قادر کردگار
 چو در برج ماهی به بینی تو ماه
 به بین و بشو شادمان آن زمان
 همین بیت⁸ مارا کنون یاد دار

IN THE NAME OF GOD, COMPASSIONATE, OMNIPOTENT!
 TRADITION ON THE THEME OF WHAT HAPPENS AT SIGHT
 OF THE NEW MOON IN EACH SIGN [OF THE ZODIAC].

(1) By the grace of God, Who giveth daily food, I shall tell of each new moon; be thou wise!

(2) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Aries, at that instant gaze on fire;

(3) In order that thy affairs may be better that month, consider now the word of the sage.

(4) Likewise at sight [of the new moon] from Taurus look on an ox in order that that month may be better for thee.

(5) When in the sign of Gemini thou seest the moon, at that instant gaze on an ascetic;⁹

¹ BU, سبزه را.

² BU omits.

³ BU, توان.

⁴ BU, ابام بنیکو.

⁵ BU, اشیم اهو.

⁶ BU, دل و در.

⁷ BU, ایثا اهو ویر.

⁸ BU, همین است.

⁹ Rosenberg (Бурдж-нāmah, p. 8, note 1) regards this reference to the ascetic (زاهد) as a proof of the Indian origin of the *Burj-Nāmah*.

(6) Beware of mirage and look not upon it, in order that that month may be most good for thee.

(7) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Cancer—hark thou to tidings from the words of this sage—

(8) At that instant look on running water, but not on pleasant verdure or plants.

(9) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Leo, gaze a while upon the sky;

(10) Implore thy necessities from the pure Protector [God]; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

(11) When in the sign of Virgo thou seest (the new moon), be thou wise; of its signification hear thou from me thus:

(12) Look not thou, under these circumstances, with sadness¹ on the face of any one else, in order that thou mayest not make thyself distressed with thyself;

(13) Recite thou praise of God with verity and perfectly, in order that thou mayest do happily in that moon, the new one.

(14) When in the sign of Libra thou seest the moon, gaze at that instant on a mirror and on gold;

(15) Implore thy necessities from the Creator of the world. Likewise of the sign of Scorpio I shall tell; be thou wise!

(16) Gaze thou, O man of good appearance, young man of vigour, not blind and not deaf;

(17) Look not on any thing abominable, O famous one, in order that that month may come to an end with goodness.

(18) When the moon entereth the sign of Sagittarius, gaze straightway on silver and gold;

(19) Look not on the face of the sick at that time; beware [of so doing] in order that thou thyself mayest be joyful.

(20) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Capricornus, straightway recite the *Aṣṁ Vuhū* [*Aṣm vohu*] thrice;

(21) Gaze not on the sick and likewise [not] on children, in order that in that month thou mayest be very joyful.

(22) When in Aquarius thou seest the new moon, recite thou the *Ayṭā Ahūvīryū* [*Yatā ahū vairyo*], listen unto them;

(23) Implore thy necessities from the mighty Creator; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

¹ Rosenberg (p. 9, cf., however, his uncertainty expressed on p. 4) renders "with pride" (съ надменностью).

(24) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Pisces, gaze straightway on rubies and pearls;

(25) Look and be joyful at that time; be joyous, and it is no harm to thee.

(26) Even so remember our verses now, in order that the Protector [God] may be guardian.

The two *maḥnavīs* (reprinted from the *Hoshung Volume*) on the omens to be drawn from the appearance of snakes on each of the days of the week and in each of the signs of the zodiac are as follows, with their revised translations:

دیدن مار از خوب و بد هفته

به شنبه مار بینی روز کیوان	رسد بر آسمانت قصر و ایوان
به یکشنبه که روز (ز) آفتابست	به بینی مار را میکشی ثوابست
دو شنبه روز روز ماه باشد	چو دیدی مار را دلخواه باشد
سه شنبه روز باشد روز مریخ	بکن بنیاد از در را تو از بیخ
چهار شنبه که باشد از عطارد	ترا امروز عیشی و عشرت آرد
پنج شنبه که باشد روز برجیس	چو دیدی مار کشتی کشتی ابلیس
بود آدینه روز زهره ناهید	ترا امروز میباید کنی عید

THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND
BAD OF THE WEEK.

(1) On the Sabbath, the day of Saturn, [if] thou seest a snake, rear unto heaven thy castle and palace.

(2) On the day after the Sabbath, which is the day of the Sun, [if] thou seest a snake, kill it; it is a good work.

(3) Two days after the Sabbath—the day of the Moon it would be—when thou seest a snake, it would be desirable.

(4) Three days after the Sabbath—the day of Mars it would be—[if thou seest a snake,] dig up the serpent's foundation from the root.

(5) Four days after the Sabbath, which would be from Mercury, [if thou seest a snake,] it bringeth thee pleasure and society this day.

(6) Five days after the Sabbath, which would be the day of Jupiter, when thou seest a snake [and] killest it, thou killest Iblis.

(7) Friday is the day of Venus, of Aphrodite; that day [if thou seest a snake,]¹ thou shouldst keep festival.

دوازده برج که ماه باشد	دیدن مار را از خوب و بد
به بینی مار را بسیار نیکوست	چو در برج حمل باشد مه ایدوست
ترا از مار نیرو مینماید	به برج ثور نیکو مینماید
سرش در زیر سنگ و چوب باشد	مه اندر برج جوزا نیک باشد
طمع از مال و جان خود بریدی	چو در خرچنگ مه تو مار دیدی
فزاید دولت و محنت سر آید	5 چو در برج اسد بدر اندر آید
چو دیدی مار میخور در سفالی	به برج سنبله باشد هلالی
بود پشت و پناه ² زور بازو	چو بینی مار را اندر ترازو
بکشتن ازدها باشد همایون	چو در عقرب قمر گردد نمایان
با ثین بینی دولت از نو	چه مه در برج قوس انداخت پرتو
مبین بر ازدها منمای رخسار	10 چه در جدی قمر گردد بدیدار
ستم بسیار بینی و جفارا	ببرج دلو مه شل اشکارا
به بینی بگذرانی پادشاهی	به برج حوت مه در برج ماهی
خدامرزی رسانی بر ضعیفی	اگر هشیار اگر خوشحال و کیفی

THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND BAD OF THE TWELVE [ZODIACAL] SIGNS, [ACCORDING TO] WHAT MOON IT IS.

(1) When the moon should be in the sign of Aries, O friend, [if] thou seest a snake, much good it is.

(2) In the sign of Taurus good doth it [the moon] show; to thee from a snake strength doth it show.

(3) The moon in the sign of Gemini should be good; his [the snake's] head should be under stone and stock.

(4) When the moon [is] in Cancer, [if then] thou seest a snake, thou cuttest off hope of thy wealth and life.

(5) When the full moon entereth the sign of Leo, [if then thou seest a snake,] good fortune increaseth, and calamity cometh to a head [i. e. ceaseth].

¹ Rosenberg, who read an advance offprint of my article in the *Hoshang Volume*, does not think that this bracket should be supplied here. The parallelism of the other verses seems to require it, yet it is, of course, true that Friday, as the Muhammadan Sabbath, might form an exception to the other days of the week.

² Rosenberg suggests *پناه و زور*.

(6) Should the new moon be in the sign of Virgo when thou seest a snake, eat on earthenware.¹

(7) When thou seest a snake in Libra, it [the snake] is thy protector and asylum, [and] the might of thine arm.

(8) When the moon appeareth in Scorpio, it would be fortunate for the killing of a serpent.

(9) When the moon darteth his ray in the sign of Sagittarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou dost customarily see wealth anew.

(10) When the moon doth make its appearance in Capricornus, look not on a serpent, show not thy face.

(11) [If] the moon becometh visible in the sign of Aquarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou seest [*i. e.* sufferest] much oppression and cruelty.

(12) [If] the moon [be] in the sign of Pisces, in the sign of the Fish, [if thou seest a snake,] thou seest the passing of sovereignty.

(13) If [thou art] prudent, if happy and joyous, thou causest the divine compassion to come unto [thy] weakness.²

As supplementary to my former studies, I may note that Rosenberg assigns both the *Burj-Nāmah* and the *Mār-Nāmah* (the latter edited by Modi, Bombay, 1893) either to Anūšīrvān ibn Marzbān of Kirmān, who flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or to one of his pupils.³

While I have endeavoured, largely on the basis of Rosenberg's criticism on my article in this *Journal* and his pencil notes on the *Hoshang* offprint, to correct the errors of reading and translation to which I confess, I remain unchanged regarding the only matter which I regard as of real importance in this connexion—the problem of the ultimate source of this whole type of Parsi-Persian omen-literature. I have long been perfectly aware of the existence of snake-cults in India, though I had overlooked the mentions of moon-omens in India made by al-Bīrūnī (*India*, tr. Sachau, ii, 97; *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 335); but these are scarcely of a weight sufficient to make any alteration in my theory. I have also long known that,

¹ Rosenberg, reading *می خور*, translates "drink wine in an earthen cup".

² Rosenberg translates "thou reachest God's compassion with the feeble".

³ Rosenberg, *Notices*, 11—13, 49, *Бурдж-нама*, 4.

as Rosenberg says, there was active communication between India and Persia in the Sasanian period, and long before; and that books of Indian authorship were translated into Pahlavi, and later into Persian and Arabic. It would indeed be strange if Indian works on astrology and divination had not been among this number.

But all this seems to me to be beside the mark. I myself mentioned, in the *Hoshang* paper, abundant instances of ophiomancy from India, Burmah, Melanesia, Greece, Italy, and the Balto-Slavs, etc. Instances of omens from the new moon are as wide-spread as the lunar light. Yet among only one people was the omen-system drawn up in regular and exact calendrical form—the Babylonians. If we assume an Indian source for such omen-lists as are here studied, we can allege in support of this view only the fact that omens were unsystematically drawn from moon and snakes, and the possibility that Indian works upon these omens were translated by Persians or Arabs, although no Indian book of this character is thus far known to exist. My own belief is still the one which I expressed in the *Hoshang Volume*: “In view, then, of the facts that omens from snakes cannot be explained as Zoroastrian, and that, while sporadic portents are drawn from serpents among Hebrews, Hindus, Burmese, Melanesians, Romans, Greeks, and Lithuanians, there is no systematic development of ophiomancy among any of these peoples, there seems to me but one possible derivation for the Persian *Mār-Nāmah*, for only among the ancient Babylonians was there at once a perfected ophiomancy and a regular calendar form for it . . . I would tentatively suggest that the alleged Zoroastrian ophiomancy is, in reality, a survival of Babylonian lore on the same subject. Whether this knowledge was transmitted orally, or how it received its recrudescence, of which the first trace known to me at present is al-Birūnī’s record, is a problem I cannot touch. I believe, however, that more than one element in Zoroastrianism, even as recorded in the *Avesta*, will ultimately prove to have Babylonian influence as at least a factor. The West of Asia has been for milleniums a fusing-furnace of religions; Sumerians and Babylonians, Jews and Persians, Gnostics, Mandæans, and Manichæans, Muhammadan sects, and Nestorian Christianity have all contributed their share. In this snake-calendar, perhaps, is one indebtedness of the later Parsis to Babylonia.”

In this same article I mentioned the close parallelism of the *De Ostentis* of Johannes Lydus to the Babylonian omen-literature. Since I wrote that paper, it has been shown by Bezold and Boll¹ that much of Greek astrology, as in lunaries, brontologies, sterologies, seismologies, etc., was modelled on, and, at least in part, more or less directly translated from, Babylonian tablets. If Babylonian astrology thus lingered on, and was carried to Greece, it is still more probable that it long survived in its native home. In the absence of any Indian work showing either in form or in spirit the slightest kinship to such compositions as the *Burj*- and *Mār-Nāmah*, and with the rich abundance of Babylonian omen-literature which is amazingly like this portion of Parsī-Persian, I can only abide by my conviction that these Iranian texts are to be derived from Babylonian, and not from Indian, sources.

e) Modern Persian *bi*:- Lithuanian *be*:-

In Modern Persian the future, the subjunctive, and the imperative are formed by the aid of the particle —, found in Afyān as *ba*-, in Kurdish as *b*- (*be*-, *bi*-, *bo*-, *bu*-), in Tālīš as *ba*-, in Gilaki as *be*-, in Māzandarānī as *ba*-, in Gabrī as *v*-, etc.² In Pahlavi the form is *bē*- (cf. the antevocalic — in Modern Persian), and in Pāzand *bā*-. The fact that in Pahlavi *bē*- is regularly rendered in Huzvaresh by *barā* (𐭠𐭣𐭥), "except, besides, without," has led some³ to consider the verbal particle *bē*- identical with the preposition *bē*. The correct view regarding the particle *bē*- is, however, that of Salemann,⁴ who connects it with the Avesta intensive particle *bōit*, which is compounded of Avesta *bā*- + *it*.⁵ The cognates of *bā* are numerous,⁶ and are traceable to the monosyllabic bases **bhā* and **bhē*:

¹ "Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern", *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1911, *Abhandlung* vii.

² Geiger, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, I, ii, 220, 396.

³ Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, 213 f., Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, no. 143, *Grundriß*, I, ii, 150, West, *Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 249. On the source of *bē*, "without", see Salemann, *Grundriß*, I, i, 284, 318, Horn, *ib.* I, ii, 20, 160.

⁴ *Grundriß*, I, i, 311.

⁵ Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 962, 912.

⁶ Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 619, Feist, *Etymo-*

**bhā*: Full grade: Avesta *bā*, Armenian *ba(y)* (?),¹ Old Bulgarian *bo*;

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bà*, Gothic *-ba(i)*,² Lettish *-ba*.

**bhē*: Full grade: Greek *φῆ*.

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bè*, *be*, Old Prussian *bhe*.

Thus far, however, it seems not to have been suggested that an exact etymological analogue to the Modern Persian verbal particle *—* is to be found in Balticon Lithuanian *be-* prefixed to verbs adds a continuative force, as *be-vargstū*, "I am continually miserable", *mán bè-kalbant*, "while I continued speaking";³ and in Old Lettish *-ba* was affixed to verbal forms to give a similar modification of meaning, as *lāidi-ba*, "let it continue to be".⁴

logisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache, p. 40, Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 36, Trautmann, *Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 311.

¹ On this difficult word see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 427 f.

² On *-bai* beside *-ba* see Brugmann, p. 669.

³ Kurschat, *Grammatik der litauischen Sprache*, pp. 130, 385, and especially Leskien, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xiv, 92. The relationship stated to exist between Lithuanian *bè* and *beĩ* by Gauthiot, *ib.* xxvi, 357, and Trautmann, p. 311, seems uncertain, for *beĩ* would appear to be the reduced grade of the base **b(h)ēi*. Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv, 229, connects *beĩ* with Old High German *bî*; the latter is connected with Sanskrit *abhī*, with the form *abhī-* in *abhītvāri-*, "on-rushing", *abhīmanin-*, "one of the Agnis", *abhīlāpalāp-*, "lamenting".

⁴ Bielenstein, *Lettische Sprache*, ii, 372 f.